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EDMUND NORRIS.
Honolulu, May 3, 1895. tf.

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PALMER'S LETTERS.

No Republic of Hawaii.

The Provisionalists Ruling as Heretofore. Martial Law Ended.

POSITION OF JAPAN AND JAPANESE.

Honolulu, March 18.

Martial law was declared in Hawaii on January 7th, passes required of all citizens found on the street after half-past nine in the evening, the liquor saloons were closed, all persons required to deposit any arms belonging to themselves with the government, the courts were suspended save for civil business, the nineteen rulers gave up their assembly room for the sitting of a court martial, and the prison was crowded with men of all nationalities arrested without warrant and detained without specific charge or prospect of trial.

On March 4th, the bars were opened, on the 5th, arms taken from residents were returned, and by the 18th all cases, 190 in number, have been tried by the court-martial, adjourned sine die and martial law is raised.

There was but one excuse for the existence of these two months of absolute suspension of personal liberty. It is this: whatever is published to the world, Hawaii is not and never has been even the semblance of a Republic; it is exactly the same military despotism which it was the week after the queen's dethronement; only this and nothing more; the riot at Waikiki occasioned by the desire of the native party to import arms, all these formerly owned by them having been surrendered in January, 1893, was most eagerly embraced by the ruling ring as the opportunity for which they had long waited to give their opponents a renewal of a precedent known in France as the Reign of Terror.

On July 4th, 1894, taking advantage of the fact that public salutes would be given to the dawn of America's Independence Day, with that fraud which has characterized every public act of this oligarchy, they announced to the world the evolution of the Hawaiian Republic, terrorizing the natives by the guns of the men of war saluting in Honolulu harbor, appealing to the sympathies of the civilized world by sending broadcast copies of a document called the New Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii. They then went through the farce of an election, and sent abroad a list of nominally chosen legislators. Note well, this was nearly one year ago, when the queen was urging her partisans to abide by the decision of the United States in whose mediatory offices she had never for a moment lost her faith.

Having done this, the self-chosen nineteen arranged their comfortable chairs around the deliberative halls, and sat there, drawing fat salaries, making restrictive laws, commissioning foreigners as consuls of the republic, importing munitions of war, besides spending leisure moments in figuring up the probable profits on sugar, or the effect of a private letter to an eastern friend on such topics as would help their allies in our National Congress. Every statute is still designed, debated, passed or rejected by the original provisional government which wheedled the Gatling guns from the queen. This has never been otherwise.

Do they publish this to the world? Oh no, nor did they ever tell the brave story of the man who held possession of the royal arsenal while they were quaking in a committee room, who refused for the twenty-four hours to entertain any proposition from her, who finally said that only on the autograph order of his royal mistress would he surrender as much as a cutlass, that they then commissioned one of their own number to obtain this precious bit of writing, afterwards repudiating their contract of reference to the arbitration of the United States.

But it is useless to write of the past, there is enough in the present.

The royalist rising has been greatly exaggerated; it was in truth but a riot occasioned by the wish of one party here to arm their adherents, with a view of final appeal to the court of last resort, namely war. U. S. Minister Willis has earned the heartfelt gratitude of the suspects. On one day these were not given their usual turn in the jail yard, they were kept securely locked in their cells. They were officially informed by custodians that a vigilance committee was on the way out to shoot each and all without even the pretense of trial. To this day it is asserted that only the great activity of Mr. Willis and the fortunate arrival of the Philadelphia prevented this general slaughter.

Passes were abolished on March 1st. Prior to that date, citizens, naval officers, ladies were frequently marched to the station house and if not detained roughly reprimanded; their sole offense being that they had forgotten their passes; in the majority of instances, they were dismissed with a pass good for that night. Last evening, I was hailed by a mounted, armed trooper; it was about nine o'clock. Fortunately, he was an old acquaintance. Forty of these in couples patrol the city from nine in the evening until five in the morning, and the abolition of martial law does not change this regulation.

Besides enabling the ruling ring to handle their opponents by a court martial composed of irresponsible persons, no one of whom would be invited by any of them as a guest into their families, a number of offices were created, about one hundred thousand dollars put into circulation for the pay of a citizens' guard, and a newspaper always distasteful to their party was suppressed. This was the native organ and was published daily in both languages. There are in Honolulu three Japanese and two Chinese papers, weekly or semi weekly. On the 16th, the editor of one of the former was summoned by the attorney-general, his offense being stated as "giving affront to the government." He is one of its adherents and an employee at the Custom House. But he is brave and outspoken, a characteristic of all the subjects of Japan in Hawaii. He criticised the course of the government as to the court martial, especially as to its methods of securing evidence, its release of the greatest criminals as a reward for their treachery to their associates and used as applicable to the ruling ring a word which the official translator told their attorney meant "crime." Now to insinuate that these patriots had met crime with its own weapons is felony. Mr. Hoshina therefore is endeavoring to soften the significance of the offensive word, and at this writing the patriots and the editor are trying to compromise on "transgression."

Doubtless Mr. Hoshina will be dismissed with the mildest of reproofs. Why? Because the gun-boats of the Japanese Empire are but ten days distant. It was very remarkable that no person of that nationality was in the least molested in the reign of terror; the reason of this will appear in this correspondence.

But this case and others like it occasion a clamor for the general issue of search warrants into the opinions of government employees. This is not rumor, it has already taken the form of petitions to government, and the leading editorial in the provisionalist newspaper this morning advises the petitioners to make their demands more emphatic. The necessity for this inquisitorial process is conceded; the only question is how to apply the thumb screw and the rack. The mildest and most reasonable measure seems to be the following: There are at least four organizations here, the members of whom voluntarily subscribe to long paragraphs extolling the patriotism of those in power, execrating barbarian queens and leathern practices, and denouncing their denials of all aboriginal rights by demanding annexation to the

United States. Then there is the standing army, composed almost exclusively of soldiers of fortune who have recently arrived and care nothing about matters at issue save as these affect their sustenance, a most important point to be sure, for without government rations they would relapse into their original needy condition. To these may be added the Citizens' Guard composed of residents who may be summoned on emergency. It is urged that every person be required to join some one of these organizations, and that all persons in the employ of the ruling ring who have not complied with this just requisite be summarily discharged from government employ.

The question of the revival of the native or royalist press, after the expiration of martial law, is settled by an act introduced by President Dole himself which gives to the government the power to suspend any offensive newspaper or any new journal started in place of such newspaper for a period not exceeding four years. There was absolutely no necessity for martial law, save to suppress the opposition press, and abolish free speech.

Coming now to the attitude of Japan and the position of the Japanese, I am free to confess that the matter demands more study than as yet it has been in my power to devote to it. On the 14th a German steamer landed about eight hundred more of that nationality. In two years, they have increased fifty per cent on the islands or say from 16,000 to 24,000; these figures are moderate, one-third of the male population of Hawaii is Japanese. They are not serfs. Each man is a patriot. At the opening of the war with China a voluntary contribution was made by her children to Japan, their mother country. Small sums from the laborers in the sugar field, generous subscriptions from the merchants raised this to nearly one hundred thousand dollars. The home government received it with thank for the intention, but sent word that the treasury had ample means for carrying on the present war, and that it would be devoted to hospitals. Many, some say all of these laborers have received training in the militia of their country. They are usually accompanied in coming to this country by a class called free steerage passengers. This term is applied to those who pay their own passage-money and are not under contract. Many of these latter are wealthy men from the student, military or professional classes. They cling closely together; they resent the least repression of personal liberty. The ruling ring is fully persuaded that to touch the meekest native of Japan is perilous. Thus is seen the strange anomaly in alien residence; persons claiming American or European protection are marched to prison, "nature of offense left blank," is the official entry, but in the recent outbreak, by chance there were two Japanese in the clutches of despotism; the report spread amongst their countrymen like wildfire, and a deputation visited the station house; the men were freed. At a national anniversary not long since, a party of Japanese marching through the streets, halted in front of the royal residence and gave three cheers for the queen; the provisionalists were wild with rage; they waited on the Japanese Minister, but he declined to offer the least satisfaction. One in strong sympathy with the American annexation movement has just remarked to me, "Each native of Japan in Hawaii carries a chip on his shoulder, and is daring President Dole to knock it off." There is truth in this assertion.

By the constitution a President is to be elected in A. D. 1900 and the next Legislature in 1897. In the mean time whenever a member of the Councils, so called, is for any cause out of office, his associates or the other eight-on fill the vacancy. This has been the rule since the queen's dethronement, and those who claim to predict the future, say that it will be inevitably so until Mr. Dole knock off that chip and then these islands will be just as

inevitably a part of the Japanese Empire, always presuming that American annexation has failed. There is no republic here. One of the latest of official manifestos states with more truth than discretion the facts; viz. "Whereas the corner stone or foundation principle of the republic is the annexation of these islands to the United States." To this we have only to answer in the plain words of President Cleveland, "Hawaii is a foreign country." May ever patriotic American citizen add, "Let her remain so."

JULIUS A. PALMER.

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